1: Wang--1 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/1/

Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

"There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

/the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

"Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

*/Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

175

/For a discussion of the meaning of the name "Miao" based on evidence from written sources, see category 116, pp. 2-26./

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

175, 648

/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-i,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
M Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
648 Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
*175 and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
CC of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
563 Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
669 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563 (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[342] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/2 cont'd/
101 in the Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang t'ung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Chèng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's Shih-hu I-chi /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-

/* This is Cheng's hao, or literary name.—Ed./

ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the Kan-en Hsien-chih /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other t'ungs in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/
101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/3 cont'd/

101 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the
175 Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman.—Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recom-
175 mended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

/4 cont'd/

217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang, and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However, I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

/7 cont'd/

171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
●175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
522 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
166 the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzu village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/

175 161 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people, and it is also directly related to the question of the number of original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present [582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group. To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came. There might have been an equal number of women accompanying the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

175 162 161 175

[577] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

/12 cont'd/
lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included. (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others: "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
244 311 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
●175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:
178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

162 Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
144 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
178 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/117 cont'd/

648 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

(2)

648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
● 175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

2:Ling & Ruey--41 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 286 439 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 [184] The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is altogether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as recorded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/ 301 175 [178] was very different from that today.

2:Ling & Ruey--125 E-5 (1933) 1947 · AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

2:Ling & Ruey--126 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
[304] fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
[304] hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/177 cont./ few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an incantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

/178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

/178 cont./

175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The *782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence. 776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113]

1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the 776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the *782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk [779] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary *[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover, [842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen; and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

½ [for the ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

/202 cont./

*535 184 t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/. The section on the Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories 175 of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes 184 of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the *535 Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

M 175 184 *535 /203/

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

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1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng An-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

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5; Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuang-tung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

[p. 8 is blank]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat. and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoↄ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves HmoↄBo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called Hmoↄ Ndz^Λu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called Hmoↄ Ntswa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[3] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoↄ LΛu, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 北苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

3. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.
Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.
Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鸦雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 镇雄 are the Hmoɔ Glɛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 114 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 161 167 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 175 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

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563 175

Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.[3] These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

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Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

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	O	*A*	*B*	*A B*	*Total*
Chwan Miao -	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36·1	11·2	39·0	13·7	
Szechwanese -	487	375	289	141	1,292[4]
per cent.	37·7	29·0	22·4	10·9	

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Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

[4] Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

[P. 666]

12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

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The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

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1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[2 cont.]

175 563 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

101 175 [563] We are here concerned with the origin and history of the Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man" [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with [133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

[2 cont.]

101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

161 The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

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Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence tc Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

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HISTORY AND MIGRATIONS

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.[58]

The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

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age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)[59] to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries). This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large [63] number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.[62]

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

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In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei-chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains.[69] The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to Burma in the 1890's, described the devastation suffered by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or two. It is one among many others which have suffered, during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."[70]

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As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions of the last two centuries started a new period of migration for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agriculturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao scattered in many directions and are found now mostly in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these southwest provinces have representatives of different tribes of Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated. When the different groups of Miao live together in one locality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish members of one group from those of another.[71]

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The above delineation of Miao history and migration brings us back to the consideration of the groups related to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan, who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
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CHAPTER XIX

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

101 131 IN the sense that least is known about them, the Meos are the most mysterious of the twelve principal races of Indo-China. This Mongolian people is to be found at altitudes higher than 3000 feet over the whole of Indo-China north of the 21st parallel of latitude. They are utterly incapable of bearing, even for the shortest time, other than cool and temperate climates. Being self-supporting, they rarely come down to visit the markets of the plains and valleys, and when obliged to cultivate fields below the 3000 feet line, they always return to their villages to sleep.

175 The Meos' territorial aspirations are purely vertical. By their disastrous method of cultivation, which completely exhausts the soil in a few years, they have been forced steadily southwards from China. In migration, as in the year 1860, when they crossed the frontier of Indo-China, they will fight their way savagely and effectively across low-lying country, only to split up and disperse immediately the mountains are reached. An ethnographical map of northern Indo-China is pock-marked with groups of Meos. Since 1860 they have travelled about 400 miles and are now filtering slowly southwards down the Annamite Chain, where from time to time a new group is reported on a mountain top. They are said to have been attacked in recent years by government forces in northern Siam, but it is unlikely that anything short of extermination can stop their slow, silent movement through the mountains. Europeans who have studied them superficially believe them to be of Esquimaux origin; a theory which is offered to explain their horror of warm climates. These authorities report that they possess legends of eternal snows and of arctic days and nights. But the short description published in 1906 by Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière says nothing of this, and no other scientific account of the Meos has appeared.

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[148] CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

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THE "MÉO" GROUP

101 13 The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very characteristic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about [161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

167 [175] Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

131 167 175 The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

167 175 At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw [361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after 175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

147 361 175 Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low altitudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

101 According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[163 cont.]

It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

Y 773 430 AE6 Miao AE5

They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

/129/

CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M 101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

M 161 131 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le; and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

M ●175 167 131 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throwing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later. 175● 167 131 175 609 643

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow. 131

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing. 101

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their 000

/10 cont./

174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agtee with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

● 175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

/11 cont./

175 648 in the basins of both the Yellow River and the Hoai. These wars always ended with the destruction or subjugation of the Meau, the latter inevitably being followed by destruction (see chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples").

In the Chinese reports the Meau are always described as the attackers and as inferior barbarians, which was why the Chinese "had to punish them." The first European reports come from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We owe them [197] to missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Thus, Mailla, du Halde, and Amiot repeatedly speak in their works of the battles of the Meau with the Chinese. Naturally, later works are also based upon the ancient Chinese literature. For example, Savina (3)

3. II, p. 129.

reports: "The 'Sin kouo wen' speaks of the Meau in the eighth volume, which is entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte von China /General History of China/' (4): 'There follows the period of

4. Translation of Père Lamasse, p. 485.

Hoang-ti. Thanks to the symbols of the calendar it was possible from then on to verify time, an improvement which has lasted to the present day, that is, for more than 4600 years. Hoang-ti invented the weapons of war in order to subjugate the Meau tribes.'"

/12/ At this point we shall borrow from Wieger's study (1)

1. Pages 9 ff.

the following quotations which are illuminating for the history of the Meau: "The Hia, namely, the Chinese, came from the northwest, followed the course of the Wei River...to the Hoai River. Here the migration was stopped by a then numerous people whose remnants are the Meau of today... These resident

/12 cont./

175 Meau looked askance at the intrusion of the Chinese. They rose
648 up in a general revolt, made war on the Chinese, and beat them back from the plains south of the Yellow River to the north of the plain of the present-day Tcheu-li. The instinct of self-preservation unified the Chinese, who, led by Huan-Yuan, defeated the Meau under Tcheu-yeou. It was a bitter battle, with life or death at stake... Defeated, Tcheu-yeou's subjects were made slaves..., history makes no secret of the fact that Hoang-ti imposed Chinese culture upon the Meau by force... In order to soften up the Meau, a cruel people, Hoang-ti used their own criminal laws against them."

It seems that once the harmony between the Chinese and the Meau was disturbed there was no way of restoring it later on. Savina (2), for instance, reports: "At the time of Confucius,

2. II, p. 131.

twenty centuries after the events just described, there were still twelve noble and powerful families." The author believes that these were Meau, and he adds (3) that, according to all the

3. II, p. 132.

Chinese reports of later times, the Meau are regularly mentioned whenever there is an account of sedition and revolt. We find this largely confirmed. In the oldest part of the Schu-djing, which supplements and elaborates the Bamboo Annals, it is said that even the mythical Emperor Chun forced the San-Meau to hide away in San-Wei: "Under Chun's fourth successor it was again only the Meau who refused to obey the Emperor" (4). Father

4. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 2.

Amiot (5) writes: "In the following year 2282, Chun threw the

5. Vol. XIII, pp. 286 ff.

/12 cont./

•175 648 San-Meau back to San-Wei... It is asserted that the San-Meau are the descendants of the peoples who, after the defeat of Tscheu-yeou, refused to submit to Hoang-ti. They have always lived independently within the empire, and those who ruled them belonged to the people of Tscheu-yeou." Amiot (6) continues:

6. Page 299.

"In the year 2247, /13/ Chun divided the San-Meau into various tribes in order to distinguish them in this way from the other people." Amiot also describes an attempt at direct colonization by the Chinese and relates how the Meau, who were protected by the inaccessibility of their mountainous country, were subjugated by trickery.

When Chun divided the Meau into various tribes over which he appointed Chinese officials, he also allotted ground to the Meau, which they were supposed to cultivate, and houses and villages as well; he differentiated the families and "in short, neglected nothing in order to bend them gently under the yoke." Evidently, however, these attempts were not very successful, for later on it is said that the Meau spread into almost all the mountains of China and, as before, maintained their unyielding character which no one again tried to humble. Amiot confirms that "the mandarins who are appointed over them to give an appearance of ruling them do not exert any power over them except that which the Meau concede to them voluntarily."

The Chinese seem to have already become aware of the fact that the prerequisite for successful colonization is accurate knowledge of those to be colonized. Thus, it is reported that the Chinese emperors sent mandarins as well as scholars to the Meau, with the task of "ascertaining everything that seems worth knowing about this type of savage." Even at that time, however, complaints were voiced -- as is often the case among us today -- that the scholars entered only the nearest and most accessible regions, because they feared every possible kind of difficulty and merely brought back any kind of information they chose, which did not say anything except what was already known.

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As Amiot (1) further reports, Chun now decided to use

1. Pages 286 ff.

the "fivefold tortures." We learn what this refers to from his report: "They were condemned to have their noses or one or both ears cut off, to be castrated, or to be 'branded shamefully in the face.'" It is then said further: "Since the Meau prince did not have any principle of virtue, his people always remained in barbarism and far from permitting themselves to become civilized, did nothing rational. They thought only of sedition and knew nothing about faithfulness, truth, and openness, either in words or in deeds, and /14/ sought to be skillful only in deceit. The prisons were not adequate to accommodate the prisoners. The streets were red with the blood of those executed; the majority professed their innocence before the Throne of Heaven and complained bitterly about injustice. But Chang-ti (God), before whom nothing remains hidden, saw no trace of virtue among them. He saw only crime and rapine. Outraged by the bad example set by these peoples, the emperor decided to exterminate them and obliterate their princes, for Chang-ti, angry because justice could not be attained among the San-Meau, used Chun in order to annihilate the Meau prince and his people."

Corresponding to this report, we learn similar things from other authors. For example, from Mailla (1), that the Yau-Meau

1. Vol. I, pp. 47 ff.

rose in revolt about 2225 B. C., whereupon the emperor ordered Yu to subjugate the Meau prince, which he succeeded in doing. Von Eickstedt (2) comments on this subject: "Both the Tung-

2. III, p. 2.

djiän-gang-mu and Dschou-schu, the latter having been translated in the eighteenth century by the famous Père Amiot, report

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to the same effect for the Hsia Period (that is, 2205-1766 B.C.) that it was the Meau who prevented the Chinese under 'Emperor' Huang-di from advancing farther" (3). And the Bamboo Annals

3. Young, pp. 133 ff.

matter-of-factly report of Emperor Chun (allegedly about 2254 B.C.): "In the thirty-fifth year of his reign the Emperor commanded the Prince of Hsia to fight the Meau, whereupon the Meau people came to the throne (in order to offer their submission)" (4). Wieger (5) states that the Meau were subjugated

4. Also confirmed by Legge, p. 116.

5. Page 46.

in 2220, in spite of the fact that they had successfully resisted the Chinese army. Pauthier (6) reports that about 1110 B.C. part

6. Vol. I, p. 87.

of the Meau were shifted to East China by Emperor Chun, while other groups of the people inhabited the mountains in the south, where they and their descendants maintained their independence. As Wieger (7) also points out, about 826 B.C. the emperor himself

7. Page 127.

had waged war against the barbarians who had invaded the territory north of the Hoai and the Han, while Fang-chou marched against the Man to the south of the Han, and Hou moved from Chao against the Meau to the south of the Hoai. The Chinese odes dealing with these expeditions speak of 3,000 battle carts and of 300,000 foot soldiers who were at the /15/ disposal of Fang-chou. Nevertheless, the Chinese did not succeed in

/15 cont./

175 648 achieving a lasting peace. Even though the term "barbarians" may include other mountain tribes, it is safe to assume from all this that the Meau took a leading part in the wars.

Even in later times the struggles continued. We learn from Mailla (1) that in the fourth month of the year 1456 A.D.

1. Vol. I, p. 316.

Fang-yün destroyed the Meau after he had surrounded them from four sides. A legend reported by Von Eickstedt (see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales") indicates that these battles did not always turn out well for the Chinese or at least were not always waged against the mountain tribes. According to his interpretation, a Man or a Meau chief is said to have become a Chinese prince and son-in-law of the emperor of China in acknowledgment of his successful armed assistance.

Savina (2), however, on the basis of the Textes historiques (3),

2. II, p. 145.

3. Page 2073.

further relates that as early as 1733 and 1735 the Meau rose up from the mountains of Kweichow. And thirty years later, in 1763, the Meau of Szechwan and Kweichow under their leader took up arms again and were defeated by the Chinese under General Akoui. Not until 1775 did the Chinese succeed in taking the fortified places of the Meau in the mountains one by one. Finally, Sonom, the king of the Meau, surrendered after being assured that his life and that of his subjects would be spared. The Chinese, however, broke their word and executed him.

We are indebted to Amiot (4) for a description of the sur-

4. Vol. III, pp. 387 ff.

render of the Meau king and of the way he was lured to Peking: "There (in Peking, note by Dr. Bernatzik), after his arrival, he was entertained. Once or twice he became suspicious and became sick with grief. The attention, the flattery, and the outward demonstrations of friendliness were redoubled. He

/15 cont./

175 recovered and hoped for the best." -- According to the description, however, the Chinese were only "saving" the subjugated Meau for their festivals. Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ is therefore justified in maintaining that the Chinese used many strategems and were no less cruel than the Meau, assuming that the latter were actually cruel. He calls attention to a truly heart-rending letter written by the missionary Amiot in the year 1775, in which the latter describes how the /16/ Meau, outwitted by the aforementioned General Akoui, were led to Peking under the leadership of King Sonom and his entire court, in order to be executed there. Amiot (1) then describes an abortive

1. Vol. III, p. 387.

attempt to rescue the Meau king and reports on the execution of the verdict: "Before the tortures began, the great military leader of the Meau said to the emperor of China: 'Before he [797] died Father Sourvin (a Catholic missionary, note by Dr. Bernatzik) entrusted the king to my care. He was a young prince and not yet capable of making an independent decision. I am the one who was in favor of war. If this be a sin, then I alone have sinned, I alone deserve to be punished. I beg you to spare the life of the young king who could not be guilty. We could have sold our lives at a high price, and yet we surrendered after we had been assured of Your Majesty's mercy.' But he spoke in vain, and at a signal from the emperor, the tortures were begun. With a gag in their mouths, they were tied to stakes and cut to pieces at eleven o'clock in the morning."

We find similar descriptions of the executions in Amiot's letter which was reproduced by Savina (2): "Sonom, his younger

2. II, pp. 145 ff.

brother Chalopen, his advisers, Kantak, Sonompontchouk, Karoua, Goisar, his aunt Atchin, and her husband Langtsia were cut into small pieces alive, and the two shamans of the king,

/16 cont./

175 648 named Tonkio and Kanpou, along with ten other advisers, met the same fate. Nineteen others from the court of the king, who were treated with leniency, were 'only' decapitated; sixteen other relatives or followers of Sonom were incarcerated for life. Fifty-two others were sent into exile to Ily and were given as slaves to the Eleuths; forty-five staff officers of Sonom's army had to serve as simple soldiers in the Chinese army, thirty-five others served as slaves of the Tatar San-sing, and fifty-eight as slaves of important Manchu officers. The remaining shamans (Amiot speaks of 'lamas') were condemned to become the servants of the lamas in the temples of Kiang-ning. In his work, Amiot gives the following verbatim report, continuing from the day of execution of the leading Meau: "Their heads were then taken and exhibited in cages with designations of their names, surnames, and titles. On the following days, /17/ the bloody execution of the Meau of lower rank began. Of this unfortunate nation only a few members of the lower rank survived, and they were given to the victorious officers as slaves."

Von Eickstedt also gives a description (1): "Again around

1. III, p. 1b.

1650, then between 1755 and 1779, and finally from 1855 to 1881, they tried to regain their complete political freedom by bloody aggressive wars. By that time, however, the Chinese hold and penetration were much too strong and the uprisings were suppressed with a truly boundless cruelty, although also with considerable trouble and sacrifice." The author continues: "When the Chinese did not succeed in subduing the Meau with armed might, they tried to do it with 'wisdom and virtue' (probably economic and cultural penetration is meant), and the fact that they were successful in this is shown in the Tung-djiän by the statements that the Meau treated in this manner gave themselves up after seven decades."

39: Bernatzik--24 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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648 Nevertheless the power of resistance of the Meau was not broken, and, tyrannized by the avaricious Chinese officials, the Meau of Kweichow rose in revolt again and again, and the Meau of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Tonkin were also heard from on various occasions, as Savina (2) reports on the

2. II, p. 145.

basis of the Textes historiques (3). We further learn from

3. Page 2081.

Abadie (4) that the Meau residing in Tonkin gradually spread

4. Pages 149 ff.

along the northern and northeastern border to the Annamese Cordillera. To be sure, most of this movement proceeded peacefully, but Abadie also points out several instances of penetration by force into the Dongvan region at the beginning of the nineteenth century and about 1860. According to him, on the occasion of their first penetration, several thousand Meau marched in warlike formation from southern Yunnan, devastated everything along the way, and reached Annamese territory in the region of Dongvan. There they used force to drive out the "Thai" and the "Man" who had settled there. The invasion of 1860 was of even greater scope, and many "Thai" today still vividly remember it. At this time, the Meau pushed from Dongvan and Quan-Ba almost as far as Phu-Yen-Binh deep into Annam, after they had beaten the Annamese troops and /18/ had spread horror with their indescribable cruelty. This invasion was nevertheless repulsed by troops brought up from the delta and reinforced by many war elephants. The use of these animals spread panic in the ranks of the Meau, and they fled into the high mountains, in which they still live today.

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Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

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39: Bernatzik--27 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/19 cont./

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Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese his-

2. II, p. vii.

tory they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from [101] ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time

2. II, p. vii.

of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

3. III, p. 4.

/20 cont./

175 648 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung [101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 175 648 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

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We learn from Maspero (2) concerning both groups, the

2. Page 244.

Meau in Tonkin and those in French Laos: "The Meau form very scattered groups in Tonkin and Laos. The most important group, that of Mung-trang, north of Lao-cay, belongs to the territory [648] of a chief (tou-sseu) on Chinese territory. The other groups live completely separated from their relatives in smaller villages."

In Tonkin the limits of expansion which they have reached thus far by following the various mountain ridges are given by Von Eickstedt as the northern and northwestern boundary up to the Annamese Cordillera. At any rate -- as has already been mentioned -- all the Meau are rapidly advancing toward the south.

J. McCarthy (3) reported in 1902 that in 1886 the Meau

3. Pages 83 ff.

had not yet crossed the left bank of the Mekong, but in 1894 they had already settled on the heights of the right bank. Credner (4)

4. IV, p. 167.

writes: "Only in very recent times, during the last half-century, have they also moved into the high regions of northern Siam." In 1929 the explorer (5) found them south of the Mulmein-

5. IV, p. 139.

Raheng /Tak/ route at 16° 35' north latitude and stated that within about forty years, they had thus shifted their area of distribution almost 380 kilometers to the south, and /22/ continues: "In the mountain ranges between Menam Tschao Praya /Chao Phraya River/ and Menam Pasak /Pa Sak River/, A. Kerr in 1927 found a large Meau village at 17° north latitude on the heights of the Pu Lomlo on the Uttaradit-Lamsak route, so that

/22 cont./

131 [175] there, too, east of the Menam /Mae Nam/, a similar broad expansion of the Meau to the south is confirmed." A chart supplementing his discussion shows the area of Meau settlement as the mountains of northern Thailand at altitudes above 1,000 meters, where they occur sporadically, as well as the central cordillera at 16° 35' north latitude as the southernmost occurrence (1).

1. Credner, IV, p. 137.

Today we therefore find settlements of the Meau at a distance of only 300 kilometers as the crow flies from Bangkok. Since they are now approaching the spurs of the mountain ranges which follow the Menam, the question arises as to whether they can finally be made sedentary or whether there will be further movement southward. Such a movement, however, in view of the conditions and the geographic situation forcing the Meau to maintain a southward direction, would lead into the peninsula of Thailand and the Malay Peninsula, which would mean a descent into the tropical forest climate. This would presumably bring about a biological catastrophe for the mountain peoples. At any rate, their future development will also be of colonial-ethnological interest.

173 The Meau whom I investigated in Thailand, according to their own statements, came from Yunnan. Luang Boriphand Dhuraratsadorn (2), too, gives the "Haw country (Yunnan)"

2. Page 157.

/cited in English/ as the homeland of the White Meau. Undoubtedly his statement is also based upon information from the Meau, who, if we refer back to Savina's (3) findings summarized

3. II, p. vii.

above, regard Tonkin merely as a way station on their route from Yunnan and have remained historically aware of their migration route.

39: Bernatzik--523 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/385 cont./

A 276 [249] [439] I came across Akha villages whose inhabitants neglected agriculture completely in favor of the cultivation of poppies. They were devoting themselves entirely to the smuggling of opium, exchanged the drug for food with the neighboring Lahu, and thus lived incomparably better than their fellow tribesmen who had remained faithful to agriculture.

A [177] The Akha, to be sure, claim to have first learned the cultivation of poppies and the enjoyment of opium from the Chinese, but this does not sound very probable.

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Chapter 19

Weapons

M 714 [175] In the old Chinese literature the defensive weapons of the Meau are mentioned several times. For example, helmets and armor with greaves made of iron and wooden shields are mentioned (1). Such weapons are no longer used by the Meau

1. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

settled in Thailand today, though the memory of similar weapons has remained alive. Thus, the great-grandfather of one of my informants told him that iron shields had been used. He was unable to tell me anything about their shape, but described very well armor which consisted of iron plates about three fingers wide. These iron plates were sewed on muntjac leather, like roof tiles. The coat of armor consisted of three pieces. The principal part protected the genitals, chest, shoulders, and the back. It was put on by sticking the head through a central aperture left open; it was reduced to neck size by drawing together appropriate cotton strings. The second piece of armor protected the thighs, the third the upper arms. There supposedly, however had never been any head protection.

Miao AES

/386 cont./

411 Among the offensive weapons of the Meau, there were formerly spears, which have been retained today in crude [115] form only very sporadically. One of my interpreters, a Chinese trader, whose calling took him from one village to another, reported long thrusting spears with a double-edged, poisoned iron-point which was attached to a wooden shaft about four meters long. Even my best informants, however, could not remember such spears. In the old Chinese literature the use of [175] long spears is mentioned several times (2). Furthermore, wooden

2. Eberhard, II, pp. 245, 252, and 259.

clubs were used, which, however, are no longer found anywhere today. This /387/ club, round and about as thick as a thumb, with an egg-shaped handle, was made flexible at two points by the insertion of three chain links at each one.

As weapons for close combat the rice sickle (Fig. 271) is used, which for this purpose is equipped with a handle of about one and a half meters.

In addition, peculiar slings are used. They consist of perforated iron balls of about six centimeters in diameter, which are attached to a thin rope 20 fathoms long. One now grasps this rope half a meter behind the iron balls, whirls them in a circle, and lets them fly. When this sling has hit its target, it is pulled back by the rope.

On the other hand, there was no device for throwing spears. Nor were bow and arrows or battle-axes used, though [412] in close combat the Meau use their wood ax (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273) as a weapon.

411 One finds small knives (see chapter, "House Furnishings, 412 Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 161-164) in daily use, which, in case of war, are used as pointed weapons in close combat. /Fig. 305 appears here./ The large bush knives (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 272) have versatile utility as a jungle knife and as a hunting and war weapon, as does the slightly curved, double-edged saber with a thin blade.

Miao AE5

/387 cont./

411 177 In addition there are double-edged swords for close combat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords [778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305). [175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau [326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the [439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [324] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide- [439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

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Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4).

M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

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Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and

39t Bernatzik--612 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/453 cont./

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Bridgman (3) speaks of 82 different "sketches," an

3. Pages 257 ff.

expression that is used by him for tribes. The same number is also mentioned by Li-Tsung-fang (4) and Schotter (5), and the

4. Ch. 3, p. 9b.

5. Vol. III, p. 405.

latter also reports an album in the possession of a mandarin, in which 108 Meau tribes are said to be mentioned. Schotter adds, however, that this number is a sacred Buddhist number. Since otherwise nothing is known about this album mentioned by Schotter, his information at first glance seems to be of little significance. Now, however, Chang-Kong-Chiu has published an album in which the author adds explanations concerning "The Culture of the Miao-tse, according to Older Chinese Sources." This interesting work shows that undoubtedly a number of mountain peoples were classified by the Chinese with the Meau, who in an ethnological sense have little or nothing to do with them. Marabail (6), too, confirms that this is the case: "The famous

6. Page 133.

[175] Tsai-Chen (1167 to 1230) in his commentary of the second part of the Chou-King seems to believe that the Meau are the same as the Yau, for the prisoners who at that time were taken from among the Yau /Yao/ of Hou-Nan usually called themselves Meau."

The Chinese classification and the resulting variation in the number given for the Meau tribes are understandable, however, if one keeps in mind that "Meau-tse" referred to all non-Chinese (see the chapter, "Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau"). At any rate, the ethnologist can only set up uncertain hypotheses as long as the affiliation and identification of the individual tribes is uncertain.